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AN INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF PEACE¹

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Although man has been obliged to fight his way from the beginning, yet through the development of ages he has risen in a large measure above the necessity of fighting. Formerly the lord had his castle upon a spur of the mountain for defense against the lawless and against his enemies. This custom was extended, and each would signal to the other when danger threatened. Later it was found to be cheaper and better to settle in a town and to build around it high walls which could not be scaled. But the walled-town stage has long since passed, and we have now reached a stage of development where physical force within each nation is applied only as a police force to restrain the vicious and turbulent.

But as between nations the earlier conditions still prevail, and they continue to act toward each other as barbarians. They are suffering from fear and distrust of each other, almost wholly unwarranted. In fact, each individual nation wishes to be undisturbed in the peaceful development of its own resources. Rarely does one nation desire a conflict with another nation or to encroach upon the territory of another. Each wishes to live in harmony with the others. Yet our boundary lines are bristling with cannon, the seas are alive with battle ships, and the tramp of the soldier is heard the world over. And for what purpose? Is it to curb the turbulent and vicious? No. It is because of a

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groundless fear of attack from sister nations. Such attacks are not really contemplated, and ought not to be expected.

This enormous expense for armies, this taxation that is draining every year billions from the treasuries of the people and bringing want, sickness, suffering, and death to multitudes, is wholly unnecessary ; and the problem of international peace is how to set in motion forces which will end this frightful waste and destruction. I believe that this result can best be accomplished by appealing to the enlightened self-interest of mankind and setting in motion educational forces which will show the folly of the present status and will also remove the fear and suspicion which are the main causes of our present wasteful expenditures for armies and navies.

But no substantial progress can be made if the effort runs directly counter to the present trend of thought and action. The idea of force cannot at once be eradicated. It is useless to believe that the nations can be persuaded to disband their present armies and dismantle their present navies, trusting in each other or in the Hague Tribunal to settle any possible differences between them, unless, first, some substitute for the existing forces is provided and demonstrated by experience to be adequate to protect the rights, dignity, and territory of the respective nations. My own belief is that the idea which underlies the movement for the Hague Court can be developed so that the nations can be persuaded each to contribute a small percentage of their military forces at sea and on land to form an *International Guard* or *Police Force*. Five per cent of the present armaments would probably be found sufficient. If this is too small, certainly 10 per cent would be fully adequate to protect all the nations in their rights, and to prevent any disorder or turbulence. This plan involves no marked or revolutionary change in the present methods ; puts no additional burdens of taxation upon the people ; but if tried, it will make the futility and waste of the present method so obvious that disarmament will naturally and inevitably follow, just as disarmament among individuals follows upon the

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institution and maintenance of an adequate police force. When the nations see that this international police force is ample to insure them all their rights, they will be unwilling to bear the present excessive burdens for armament; and disarmament, or at least nine tenths of it, will come as a natural and inevitable result of a perception of the obvious uselessness of armament.

The plan which I would establish is somewhat as follows:

(1) There should be founded, I think in corporate form, an International School of Peace. Such a corporation would be a permanent legal machinery for receiving and disbursing contributions and bequests; for it is an important part of my purpose and hope that the fund which I have provided for should be but the nucleus and beginning of a great endowment, contributed by others and perhaps by the governments themselves to forward this great cause.

(2) This International School of Peace, whether incorporated or not incorporated, should have a president, secretary, treasurer, and board of managers or directors, making up an executive committee constituted of men who are known for their soundness of judgment as well as for their devotion to the public welfare. An advisory council, consisting of men prominent in the peace movement, might well be constituted.

(3) There should be a Bureau of Education, which should attempt to modify the courses of study in our schools, colleges, and universities, by eliminating the use of such literature and history as tend to inculcate unduly the military spirit and to exaggerate the achievements of war. Too much of our history is now devoted to accounts of battles and to the exploits of war heroes; too little respect and attention are directed to the unselfish and self-sacrificing lives of thousands of noble men and women who have striven and achieved mightily for the benefit of the race in the fields of peace.

International exchange of teachers and students, in accordance with the ideas which underlie the Rhodes scholarships, and the recent exchange of professors between Germany and

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America should be further extended, even among the teachers of our public schools.

Social intercourse among the educators of different nations should be extended in every possible way. "Stranger" and "enemy" always have been nearly, if not quite, synonymous terms.

The circulation of such books as have already been published under the name of "The International Library" should be advanced in every possible way, and the publication and circulation of other books having an analogous tendency should be encouraged.

The coöperation of the clergy should also be obtained. They should be interested in the peace movement and induced to preach upon its various aspects and to work among their parishioners, so that they may make their pulpits and lives a real power for "peace on earth and good will towards men." Theological seminaries and other institutions for training preachers and clergymen should be brought to see the importance of this movement.

Either separately, or as a part of this Educational Bureau, there should be an organized attempt to influence the press of the world. Facts and arguments tending to show the advantages of peace from an historical and economic standpoint should be gathered and distributed to newspapers and magazines everywhere. An editorial corps, thoroughly trained, should furnish constantly to the press of the world material which would make for peace. One of the present great dangers of war is to be found in false, misleading, and inflammatory statements about international relations, written by irresponsible persons and circulated by sensational newspapers.

Again, why should not the government appropriate money for the proper training of its civil servants, ten thousand in number? We have the amplest schools at West Point and Annapolis for the training of our young men for warlike duties. If carefully educated, able men were employed in each of the

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capitals of the nations, to smooth out the various difficulties that might arise at the very beginning, who can estimate the beneficent effects upon our international relations? Is it not worth while for the governments of the world seriously to consider the establishment of a school for the education of their servants, and a bureau, under the control of a cabinet officer, whose duty it should be to study broadly international relations, looking toward the peaceful development of each nation? The time may come, and I hope speedily, when the minister of peace will be regarded as important to the human race as the minister of war.

Our business organizations — chambers of commerce and other similar associations — should be addressed and interested in this question of the burdens of war and of the threat and fear of war. These various organizations listen with intense interest to discussions on the effect of the tariff upon business, and spend a great amount of time and thought upon all such matters, yet entirely overlook the fact that almost, if not quite, the greatest single burden that business is now bearing is the war burden.

(4) A political bureau should be instituted, which should employ men of statesmanlike grasp and power in all the main capitals of the world, to watch over the course of legislation and to work for the reduction of armaments. Such men should scrutinize all matters of international concern and strive in every way to prevent trifling causes from exciting international disputes and the war spirit. Many wars should and would be prevented if able, discreet, and statesmanlike men were in the capitals of the world, watching and working for good understanding and peace.

To such a school I am myself planning to give \$50,000 a year, and to endow it after my death; and it is my hope that other men will be ready to increase the fund to an efficient amount. But however carefully we may plan for this great work, its success must depend finally upon the *kind* of men and women employed. It is my belief that this organization should first aim to secure the most talented persons in their line,— men and women

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who desire to devote their lives to the cause,— making sure that we have a fund sufficiently large to guarantee them a salary adequate to enable them to do their work effectively and at the same time provide themselves with the ordinary comforts of life. Above all, every one who enters the ranks should do so because of an all-absorbing interest in the cause. I would rather have one, thus equipped, than a hundred of equal ability who were influenced largely by the salary to be obtained. The success of this organization will depend upon the amount of enthusiasm we put into the work, and it must be the enthusiasm of a reformer,— a Godfrey, a Savonarola, a Garrison, a Phillips,— the kind of white heat that burns when it touches a community. With such a spirit great things can be accomplished.

EDWIN GINN

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

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THE INTERNATIONAL LIBRARY

DEEPLY impressed by our obligations and our great opportunities as Americans at this juncture in international affairs, I have felt that one of the most effective influences against the military spirit would be the wide circulation among our people of the best international books, condemning the methods of force and inculcating the methods of reason in the settlement of the differences between nations. The literature of the peace movement is very extensive, but almost all of it is unavailable in cheap and attractive form. This should be remedied. A hundred books and pamphlets, old and new, should be placed within reach of everybody. These books should be in every library, in every newspaper office, in every minister's study, on every teacher's table, in the hands of every man and woman who shapes public opinion; and they should serve and supplement the efforts organized, or to be organized, in school and church and business. It was the feeling of this great need which prompted the founding of the International Library, which we propose to develop until it fully meets every need of the cause.

EDWIN GINN

If a thousandth part of what has been expended in war and preparing its mighty engines had been devoted to the development of reason and the diffusion of Christian principles, nothing would have been known for centuries past of its terrors, its sufferings, its impoverishment, and its demoralization, but what was learned from history. — HORACE MANN.

*Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts. — LONGFELLOW.*

(A list of the volumes in the International Library will be found on the following page.)

THE INTERNATIONAL LIBRARY

Edited by EDWIN D. MEAD

PUBLISHED FOR THE INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF PEACE
BY GINN AND COMPANY, 29 BEACON STREET, BOSTON

SCOTT — American Addresses at the Second Hague Conference.
(In press)

MEAD — The Great Design of Henry IV. Mailing price, 55 cents

SCOTT — The Texts of the Peace Conferences at The Hague.
Mailing price, \$2.20

HULL — The Two Hague Conferences. Mailing price, \$1.65

WALSH — The Moral Damage of War. Mailing price, 90 cents

DODGE — War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ.
Mailing price, 60 cents

BRIDGMAN — World Organization. Mailing price, 60 cents

WARNER — The Ethics of Force. Mailing price, 55 cents

CHANNING — Discourses on War. Mailing price, 60 cents

SUMNER — Addresses on War. Mailing price, 60 cents

BLOCH — The Future of War. Mailing price, 65 cents

Messrs. GINN AND COMPANY have also published for the International School
of Peace the following works in pamphlet form

BETHINK YOURSELVES! — By LEO TOLSTOI. Postpaid, 10 cents

A LEAGUE OF PEACE: Rectorial Address before the University
of St. Andrews — By ANDREW CARNEGIE. Postpaid, 10 cents

PATRIOTISM AND THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM. A
Manual for Teachers. — By LUCIA AMES MEAD. Postpaid,
20 cents